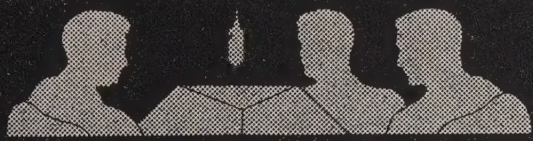
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ROUND TABLE

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

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PRESIDENT EDUARD BENES

Interviewed by QUINCY WRIGHT

Including
A Special
Map Supplement

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Around the Round Table . . . .

EDUARD BENEŠ, the distinguished statesman and courageous defender of democracy, is president of the Czechoslovakian government-in-exile. Before he became actively associated with Thomas Masaryk in organizing the Nationalist Movement and in founding the Czechoslovakian Republic, President Beneš taught at Charles University and the Academy of Commerce in Prague. He was educated at the University of Prague, the University of Paris, and Dijon University and holds a Ph.D. degree. From 1922 until the time of his voluntary exile from Czechoslovakia, he was a lecturer at the University of Prague, and in 1939 he became a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. President Beneš served as the chief delegate from his people to the Peace Conference in 1919 and 1920 and became his country's representative at the League of Nations. He was a cofounder of the Little Entente and a president of the International Committee for Arbitration and Security. From 1918 until 1935 he served as foreign minister for Czechoslovakia and became one of Europe's ablest statesmen. Dr. Beneš was elected president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in December, 1935, to succeed Dr. Masaryk, a post which he held until the time of Munich. He was elected president of the exiled government in 1940. Dr. Beneš is the author of *Bohemia's Case for Independence* (1917), *War Memoirs* (1927), *Gedanke und Tat* (1937), and many pamphlets and essays on democratic institutions, government, and politics.

QUINCY WRIGHT, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, received his undergraduate training at Lombard College and was granted his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Illinois. Before coming to the University of Chicago, he taught political science at Harvard University and the University of Minnesota. In 1918 and 1921 he served as a special assistant on international law to the United States Navy Department. He is a member of the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and the author of many books on international relations, among which are: *Enforcement of International Law through Municipal Law in the United States* (1916); *Control of American Foreign Relations* (1922); *Mandates under the League of Nations* (1930); *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* (1935); and the recent authoritative two-volume work, *A Study of War* (1942).

THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

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The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, *in presenting Dr. Eduard Beneš in his first radio appearance during his present visit to the United States, has the honor of welcoming him not only as the distinguished president of Czechoslovakia but also as a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. In 1938, shortly after the Munich agreement, President Beneš was appointed a professor at the University of Chicago. He spent the early part of 1939 teaching and lecturing at the University. However, owing to the stress of events in Europe, he was summoned in the summer to London, where he has been called upon to remain since.*

At the time, in March, 1939, when the Nazis, in violation of the terms of Munich, marched into Czechoslovakia and proclaimed it a protectorate, President Beneš, over the ROUND TABLE, *delivered a historic appeal to the American people, and on two other occasions in that ill-fated year he addressed the* ROUND TABLE'*s audience. Now, after four eventful years, President Beneš returns to the* ROUND TABLE *in a special broadcast on "The Future of Europe." The usual three-man discussion procedure has been abandoned in this program in order that Professor Wright might interview President Beneš on a subject of vital importance to us all.*

Preparing for Peace

MR. WRIGHT: Conditions have greatly changed, Dr. Beneš, since we broadcast on the ROUND TABLE four years ago—just after the occupation of your country by Hitler. At that time you made it clear that we must prepare for war.[1]

[1] On March 16, 1939, Germany declared a protectorate over Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. On March 19, 1939, Dr. Beneš appeared on the University

The war is not yet won, and our first task is to win it, but I am sure you will agree with me that the time has come when we must prepare for peace. Now that the victory of the United Nations is certain, how should we think about the peace?

MR. BENEŠ: Our first problem is one of procedure. Mr. Sumner

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of Chicago ROUND TABLE to make his first specific comments concerning the events in Europe. In thus breaking his silence he presented an extraordinary opportunity to the ROUND TABLE when he broadcast over its microphones "An Appeal to the American People." At that broadcast, as well as at the present one, Professor Quincy Wright appeared with him.

Among other things, at that time, he declared: "From the beginning it has been a battle for the existence of the state. A dictatorship cannot tolerate freedom. A dictatorship can permit no liberty, no freedom, no democracy in its vicinity. It was and is and will be a battle for the existence by a free nation opposed by a totalitarian state which denies freedom. The latest move of the German dictatorship in the occupation of Czechoslovakia proves it. . . . . And again I say to the world that everybody must understand that there will be no peace, there will be no respite, there will be no order, until the crimes that have been committed in Europe are wiped out, until there is again respect for the given word, until the idea of honesty—personal honesty and state honesty—is re-established, until the principles of the individual and international liberty are secured, and until real courage takes command and requires that brute force must stop.

"Don't forget that it is not only Europe that is involved, not only Central, South, and Eastern European nations, the French nation, the British nation, the Scandinavian nations, the people of the United States, but the whole world that is in danger, not only from war but from the destruction of every high concept of human morality, by the demolition of every fine concept of liberty, by the disintegration of every concept of honesty and decency. . . . . I would beg that they [the American people] do not permit such conceptions and ideas as are now trying to dominate Europe to be tolerated *in this free country*. Because in the approaching battle for victory of the Spirit against the Sword, the United States has a very great role to play. Be ready for that fight and be strong—O people of Democracy! . . . ." (Eduard Beneš and Quincy Wright, "An Appeal to the American People," a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 53, broadcast March 19, 1939).

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Welles and other American statesmen made it clear last year that we cannot proceed as we did after the last war. I am in full agreement with their views. We must prepare the conditions of the armistice before the end of actual warfare.

MR. WRIGHT: But should the terms of the final peace be included in the armistice conditions?

MR. BENEŠ: Only the fundamental features of the peace should be included—that is, at least a provisional settlement of the basic territorial questions, the disarmament questions, the questions of raw materials, and so on. These are questions which cannot wait for a vast world conference to be convoked several years after the armistice.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes. Many people have spoken of a transitional period before final peace terms are concluded. But I should think very much would have to be done during that period.

MR. BENEŠ: There will be plenty to do, because there will be chaos and disruption on the European continent after the collapse of Germany. We must waste no time if we truly wish to reconstruct Europe properly, if we hope to restore order and peace, and if we try to relieve promptly the terrible sufferings of the European people. We must start our planning now. The war may end more quickly than many people believe. It is my personal view that under certain conditions next winter could be the last winter of hostilities on the European continent.

MR. WRIGHT: But who is to take firm leadership during this chaotic period?

MR. BENEŠ: The grand alliance known as the United Nations must, in my opinion, continue to function. Their first task now is to win the war completely. After victory they must make a military occupation of all the enemy territories which have any political or strategic importance whatsoever. Then the United Nations must implement the armistice conditions as quickly as possible. Together

they must also decide the procedure and methods of reconstruction in Europe.[2]

The real peace conference, however, should be postponed until the armistice conditions have reestablished some kind of provisional peace and order and until the war with Japan, which is an integral part of the whole world conflict, is finished.

MR. WRIGHT: I agree with you, Dr. Beneš, but will it not be necessary to reassure public opinion in many nations as to their political security before the real peace conference?

MR. BENEŠ: The United Nations must see to it that the armistice conditions provide for at least a provisional system of security. Its enforcement must be the common desire of the victorious United Nations. These United Nations would, then, later work out their permanent system by establishing a new international peace organization.

MR. WRIGHT: The Atlantic Charter referred to a wider and more permanent system of general security.[3]

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[2] The United Nations Agreement of January, 1942, states in part:

"The Governments signatory hereto, ... Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, *Declare:*

"(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

"(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Government signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies. . . . . ."

[3] The Atlantic Charter, as drawn up in August, 1941, by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, set up eight principles: "(1) Their countries [United Kingdom and the United States] seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other. (2) They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. (3) They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have

Mr. Beneš: Such a system was also foreshadowed in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty.[4] This system must be neither of theoretical construction nor an exclusively juridical instrument enshrined in the armistice terms or the peace treaties. It must be a severely practical organization. It should begin with the working-out of the solution of practical problems. It should not grow from a theoretical blueprint as in 1919.

The Role of Soviet Russia in Post-war Europe

Mr. Wright: I believe that there is a growing conviction that no state can feel secure unless there is an international organization with adequate power to prevent aggression. Many people, however, fear that the Soviet Union, because of the difference in its institutions, cannot fit into any such organization.

Mr. Beneš: To my mind, the Soviet Union is bound to play her full and rightful part in the post-war settlement. She entered

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been forcibly deprived of them. (4) They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. (5) They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment, and social security. (6) After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. (7) Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance. (8) They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as for spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force . . . . they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that disarmament of such nations [those threatening aggression] is essential."

[4] In May, 1942, Great Britain and Soviet Russia signed a Twenty-Year Mutual Assistance Pact in which they agreed for that period of time (1) to afford to each other military and other assistance against Nazi Germany and other states in acts of aggression in Europe and (2) to unite with other countries to preserve the peace and resist aggression in Europe in the post-war world.

the last European conflict as a great power. Her soldiers then, as now, were patriotic and brave. War exposed all the weaknesses and decadence of the czarist regime, and inevitably the people rose in anger to destroy the traditional leadership and the Russian ruling class. Russia thereafter became the theater of a revolution even more far-reaching than the French Revolution of 1789. She rebuilt her social and economic life on new foundations.

MR. WRIGHT: She also began to pursue policies which were, to say the least, disturbing to her neighbors.

MR. BENEŠ: To be sure, the price of her intensive attention to her social and economic affairs was a humiliating peace treaty with Germany and, with it, her tragic isolation from the affairs of Europe.

Russia did not enter the League of Nations until Germany had left it in 1934.[5] Then she did her best to collaborate in the system of collective security in Geneva; but the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1935, for which, oddly enough, Pierre Laval took the credit, was never ratified.[6] In the spring of 1936 the Western powers refused to march into the Rhineland. They thus showed the countries of eastern and central Europe that the Western democracies were not prepared resolutely to oppose Hitler's expansionist policy.

MR. WRIGHT: This marked the collapse of the Versailles system, did it not?

MR. BENEŠ: In 1937 and 1938 the policy of appeasing the dictators had gained the field, in the questions of Abyssinia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The exclusion of the Soviet Union from the affairs of Europe continued and became clearly marked at the time of the Munich Decree in September, 1938.[7]

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[5] Germany withdrew from the League of Nations on October 14, 1933.

[6] On May 2, 1935, Ambassador Vladimir Potemkin and Foreign Minister Pierre Laval signed a five-year pact of mutual assistance at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris. It is interesting in this connection to note that Russia was the first to sign the Kellogg Pact.

[7] In September, 1938, the Munich agreement was signed by Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, and Mussolini. It stated that German forces were to begin the

The Munich Decree not only sacrificed Czechoslovakia for the sake of a temporary European peace, but it was also a four-power European pact favoring Germany against Russia, and, of course, it marked the real beginning of the present war.

MR. WRIGHT: That peace, as we know, lasted less than a year. In March, 1939, Hitler marched into Prague and, in September, into Warsaw.

MR. BENEŠ: Since then we have learned our lesson. Suspicion has given place to political and military collaboration. I do not doubt that, when the Japanese made their attack upon Pearl Harbor, they believed that Moscow would fall within a few days. Moscow did not fall. The attackers had to fall back and endure sufferings greater than those endured by Napoleon's retreating army. They have had two winters of severe hardships and terrible losses.

MR. WRIGHT: The need, therefore, of Russia's collaboration in world politics is clear. But is such collaboration practicable?

MR. BENEŠ: I do not believe that the Soviet Union will ever be isolated again. A great diplomatic act was completed by the signing of the Anglo-Soviet Pact in London on May 26 last year. It provided for the future collaboration between western Europe and the Soviet Union. I feel certain that this will benefit all European countries and, indeed, the whole world. The days of Soviet Russia's isolation are over.

MR. WRIGHT: What significance do you attach to the dissolution of the Communist International recently announced by Stalin?

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occupation of Czech territory on October 1 and continue their advance by stages until October 10. An "international commission" would fix the conditions governing the evacuation, prepare and supervise plebiscites in additional territories, and, finally, determine the frontiers. Britain and France agreed to stand by a guarantee of the new boundaries for Czechoslovakia and a recognition of the seizure of the Sudetenland areas; and Germany and Italy agreed to give a guarantee to Czechoslovakia when the question of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in the Czechoslovakian state had been settled. Finally, a pledge was signed with Hitler "never to go to war again."

Mr. Beneš: I consider the dissolution of the Third International a very important act in international policy for the advancement of international understanding. It will dissipate many suspicions existing on both sides.

Minority Groups in the Post-war Settlement

Mr. Wright: In central Europe one of the most difficult problems has been that of protecting minority rights, by which I mean racial, religious, and national groups within nations. The League of Nations attempted to give such protection in certain countries, but the worst persecutions took place in Germany and Italy, which were not bound by minority treaties. Some people have proposed a universal "Bill of Rights." There have also been experiments in the transfer of minority populations, as in the case of Greece and Turkey.

Dr. Beneš, how do you think these difficult problems can be solved?

Mr. Beneš: The problem of minorities was a serious one after the first World War, and it will be difficult to solve after the present war is over. Some better way must be found than the old to prevent states from making an international organization for the protection of minorities a tool to use against majorities in neighboring states in order to destroy them—as Germany, Hungary, and Italy did, while they themselves completely disregarded the provision of the international system.

Czechoslovakia will face this question squarely and will accept the international solution which will be agreed upon by all other nations. I am not opposed at all to a universal Bill of Rights, such as advocated by H. G. Wells. If a solution of the minority problem is impossible in this manner, I am prepared for the grim necessity of population transfers. They are in general not popular. They cannot always settle the problem completely, for some part of the minority remains in the original state, as a rule. They can create many hardships and even injustices, but I am bound to say that they may

be worth while if, as in the case of Greece and Turkey, they help establish a more permanent equilibrium and lasting peace.

The United States' Part in Post-war Europe

MR. WRIGHT: A great many Americans have been disturbed by the policy which the United States followed after the last war. The grave consequences of our attempt to go back to normalcy in 1919 have become so apparent that few defend it today. Resolutions have been introduced in the United States Senate by Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill, by Senator Thomas of Utah, and by others —resolutions proposing now a policy of American participation in the effective organization of peace.[8]

Dr. Beneš, what part do you think the United States should play after the war?

MR. BENEŠ: You know more about this than I. I need not remind you that it is a problem of the most crucial importance to all Europe. When we Europeans plead that together the United Nations should first win the war and then the peace, we assume that the United States will continue to play her part in the new policy of securing peace for the world after the war is over. That is our assumption in Europe, but, of course, that is a question which the United States and not Europe has to decide.

MR. WRIGHT: We have more experience than we had had in 1919.

MR. BENEŠ: I think you will agree, Professor Wright, that the refusal of the United States to ratify the Versailles Treaty or to join the League of Nations had consequences scarcely less momentous than the long isolation of Soviet Russia.

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[8] For a further analysis of proposals that have been made in this country and for a discussion of the making of foreign agreements see Edward S. Corwin, Nathaniel Peffer, and Quincy Wright, "The Senate and Foreign Policy," a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 263, broadcast April 4, 1943.

Suppose that peacetime conditions had made it possible in 1936 or in 1938 swiftly to mobilize the moral and material resources of the United States and the Soviet Union, together with those of Great Britain and France; is it not reasonably certain that there would have been no Munich Decree, no attack upon Poland, and, indeed, no second World War in 1939?

Mr. Litvinov voiced my own views in Geneva, when he said that peace is one and indivisible. The conditions of the twentieth century have made this profoundly true.

MR. WRIGHT: Americans have a hard time getting over the tradition of avoiding European entanglements. That policy, however, seemed to work pretty well during the nineteenth century.

MR. BENEŠ: No European student of history will ever forget how strongly rooted isolationism was in the United States. It was strongly rooted because, as you say, Professor Wright, it was amply justified for a very long time. But no European student of history will ever forget how wholeheartedly the United States entered the war in 1917 or how swift and positive was her response to the sudden attack upon Pearl Harbor.

American troops have crossed the high seas to Britain and northern Ireland, to French North Africa, the Middle East, India, and Australia. Soon, I hope, they will be upon the soil of the European mainland. They are in the vanguard of this war, and their interest in securing a peaceful Europe is vital.

I shall not anticipate the results of the great democratic discussion on the issue of peacetime isolation now going on throughout the United States. I am sure that American policy will be commensurate with her material and moral greatness.

Germany's Place in European Affairs

MR. WRIGHT: Dr. Beneš, we have discussed the problems of Russia and the United States—great powers whose collaboration is indispensable for world order—but we must not forget Germany, a

great power that has been responsible for two world wars. How can Germany be made a peaceful member of the European and the world community?

MR. BENEŠ: Ever since the days of Frederick the Great, central or eastern Europe has been the first point of Prussian or German attack. It was so in the days of Bismarck. It was so in 1914 and again in 1938. On every occasion the German "Drang nach Osten," or "nach Südosten," has been a prelude to a "Drang nach Westen."[9]

As soon as Germany was master of central and eastern Europe, she proceeded to make herself the master of the European continent; and this was merely a step toward the attempt at world domination. This is a fact which I cannot emphasize too strongly.

MR. WRIGHT: That is certainly true, but what can be done to guarantee that history will repeat itself?

MR. BENEŠ: Germany must surrender all the territories which she has taken by her wrongful way of aggression, beginning with Austria. To my mind, this is definitely a condition *sine qua non* of permanent European peace. We cannot, I believe, allow Germany to retain even an inch of the territory which she acquired by force or the threat of force and for which she launched the present war. The whole international policy of the United States is based on this sound, fundamental principle.

MR. WRIGHT: You refer, of course, to the Stimson Doctrine of not recognizing the fruits of aggression?[10]

MR. BENEŠ: Yes. If this doctrine is not followed, force and violence would appear to have been justified. Such a justification,

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[9] "The drive to the east or to the southeast"—*Drang nach Osten* or *nach Südosten*—is a catchword of Hitler's Eastern policy, as outlined in one complete section of *Mein Kampf*.

[10] In 1932, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, recognizing that force could not be overcome by words in dealing with Japan in Manchuria, proclaimed his "doctrine"—"Let no one recognize the fruits of aggression and conquest."

even if Hitler and his regime were to belong to the past, would tempt successors to take the same path to destruction. Today brute force of the aggressors does not pay. It involves useless sacrifices and stern retribution. This lesson needs to be learned thoroughly by the Germans, both of today and of tomorrow.

MR. WRIGHT: I agree with that, Dr. Beneš, but can the Germans be led to abandon their militarism and aggressions? There are eighty million of them in the heart of Europe. We cannot expect permanent peace unless they are moderately contented.

MR. BENEŠ: I am not an uncompromising anti-German. I do not pretend that the Germans are a thoroughly bad people or that all Germans are bad. But there are certain facts which we cannot ignore.

Nazi leaders, with the powerful help of non-Nazi Germans, had been elaborating their theories of total war for more than twenty years. Many Germans, I believe, sincerely regretted Hitler's advance to power in 1933. Nonetheless, the German people are as responsible for Hitler and Himmler as are the Americans for Lincoln and Roosevelt; the British for Gladstone and Churchill; the Russians for Lenin and Stalin; the Italians for Mussolini; the Japanese for their present war lords; the Chinese for Chiang Kai-shek; and the Czechs for Thomas Masaryk.[11]

MR. WRIGHT: Yes. But I believe it was Burke who said you cannot indict a whole people.

MR. BENEŠ: No sane person, Professor Wright, would order the destruction of the German nation. But we must make it clear that aggressive war always involves punishment and that civilized men simply will not accept anti-Semitic and other racial discriminations. Such discriminations are crude, cruel, and bestial. Otherwise, there can be no hope for Europe or humanity. In any case, we must remove the threat of a new war if we are to build anew in Europe.

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[11] President Masaryk, the founder of the Czechoslovakian Republic, was a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago from 1901 to 1903.

Mr. Wright: Dr. Beneš, do you have a concrete policy to suggest for dealing with Germany?

Mr. Beneš: In my personal opinion, we should agree on the problem of Germany on the following major principles: First, nazism must be completely eradicated. Second, all territory taken by threat, force, or violence must be surrendered. Third, Germany should be found guilty of provoking the second World War, and, in accordance with the terms of the Atlantic Charter, she should be held disarmed.

Mr. Wright: I agree with your conclusion, but I wonder whether the indictment should be against the Nazi party rather than against Germany. I recall that the war-guilt clause in the Versailles Treaty seemed to solidify all Germans against this treaty.

Mr. Beneš: Germany's guilt should be clearly established. My fourth point is that war criminals, when found guilty, should be punished without mercy or delay.

Mr. Wright: Yes. I recall that, in advocating punishment of the guilty, President Roosevelt said there should be no mass reprisals.

Mr. Beneš: When the difficult transitional period of internal fighting and violence is over, the Prussia of 1933, with her *Herrenvolk* and goose-stepping mentality should be newly organized; her military and *Junker* ruling class replaced, once and for all time, by a democratic regime; and the whole of Germany must be put under very strict international supervision for a definite period of time. Thus, my fifth point is that the German people should be reeducated and completely democratized.

Mr. Wright: But who will do this reeducating?

Mr. Beneš: No one other than the new Germany herself can make that reeducation a reality. I know that it will be a long-term measure and that it will involve profound changes in the social and politi-

cal structure of Germany, as well as in the methods of training a better generation.

My sixth point is that, somehow or other, Germany and the German people must undo, at least partially, the almost incredibly inhuman harm they have done to the occupied countries and to their inhabitants. The main burden of this task should certainly fall to Germany. It must not be forgotten, however, that the other Axis powers, to a greater or lesser degree, share Germany's guilt.

MR. WRIGHT: Do you think that these six measures will change Germany's policy?

The Role of Central-Eastern Europe after the War

MR. BENEŠ: I believe that the present war gives us the opportunity of smashing finally and forever the infamous pan-German "Drang nach Osten" policy which has been systematically applied for the last two hundred years, to the sorrow of the world.

The present war has undoubtedly shown the need for a genuinely friendly and loyal collaboration between the three Slavonic nations—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia's relations with both Poland and Soviet Russia are those of alliance and friendship. We want them to remain such. If these three nations succeed in this task, not only shall we secure the future of Poland and Czechoslovakia, but we shall also make a fundamental and solid contribution to the security of the whole of Europe. Even that system of central European confederation would not be a guarantee of peace and independence without this tripartite settlement between Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. This is my deepest political conviction.

MR. WRIGHT: Dr. Beneš, I think that all Americans who know you will be convinced that Czechoslovakia will do everything possible to be friendly with both Russia and Poland and to restore friendly relations between those two powers. Will you tell us something further about the policies of your country?

Mr. Beneš: You will forgive me for recalling the fact that pre-Munich Czechoslovakia was one of the best democracies in Europe. In all fields of public, social, and economic life Czechoslovakia belonged to the most progressive states of the world. Czechoslovakia was an advanced and happy state and the last democracy to resist Hitler up to the time of Munich. She did, indeed, follow the lines laid down for her by her first president, Thomas Masaryk.

Mr. Wright: Dr. Beneš, I've often marveled at the accuracy with which you have predicted the course of events and adapted your policy to them.

Mr. Beneš: From the year 1930 the Czechoslovak Republic anticipated many of the developments leading to the present war. We are already prepared to take up our course after the war is over. We did not find it necessary to change our fundamental policy or political orientation. Post-war Czechoslovakia will simply continue her former traditions. It is possible that post-war reconstruction will be carried out more swiftly in Czechoslovakia than in any other country.

Mr. Wright: Dr. Beneš, do you find it possible to keep in touch with your people in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. Beneš: The Czechoslovak government in London is in constant contact with its people, and we are preparing a comprehensive plan for our own internal reconstruction after the war, in agreement with them. We are determining the course of action we shall take after Germany has fallen—how we shall reorganize our party life, how we shall decentralize our administration, how we shall implement important social and economic reforms. In a short time Czechoslovakia again will be one of the best democracies of Europe.

Mr. Wright: What about your relations with other countries?

Mr. Beneš: There are some things which we shall never forget. London has given asylum to our exiled nation, government, and its institutions. Soviet Russia has given us the greatest possible help

since she entered the war. Your great democracy never accepted the Munich Decree and never recognized what happened to our country and to our state afterward. Your great President, Mr. Roosevelt, has maintained America's fine and traditional policy of friendship and support toward Czechoslovakia. The American people saw that the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia in 1938 was a great tragedy, but a vain one. They appreciated our policy before and during 1938. They appraised the courageous and relentless fight of our people against the Nazi oppressors since 1939. The sympathy and help of America give us vast encouragement and hope in our present ordeals and sufferings. Czechoslovakia's gratitude for all this is boundless. The bonds of friendship between Czechoslovakia and the United States are and will remain indestructible.

MR. WRIGHT: On behalf of my fellow-Americans, let me thank you for that statement. Let me also thank you for clarifying our thinking on post-war problems. You have emphasized the need for a reconstruction period before the final peace; for a permanent system of security, initiated by the United Nations; for collaboration in this system by the Soviet Union and the United States; for the elimination of naziism and the restoration of territories which Germany has occupied; for friendship between Russia and Poland and Czechoslovakia; and, in general, for confidence that the aims of democracy as set forth in the Atlantic Charter can be realized.

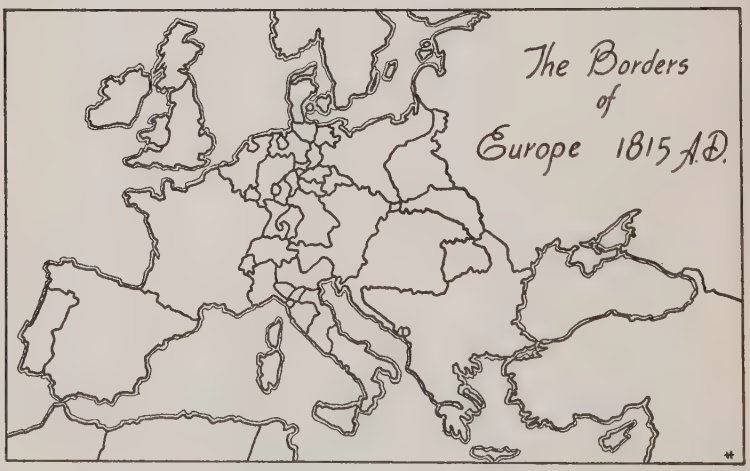
I have every confidence that, when next you return to America and join us again on the ROUND TABLE, the chief problems which we have discussed today will largely have been resolved, partly through your own efforts, and that the world once again will be on the road to peace.

The ROUND TABLE, *oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company. The supplementary information in this transcript has been developed by staff research and is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the* ROUND TABLE *speakers.*

A Special Supplement of Map Facts Concerning Europe

President Beneš has discussed in this Round Table program many of the problems that will face post-war Europe and the world both in the period of immediate European rehabilitation and in the longer range of political and social reconstruction. These supplementary maps are designed to present some of the background for discussing the future settlement of European problems.

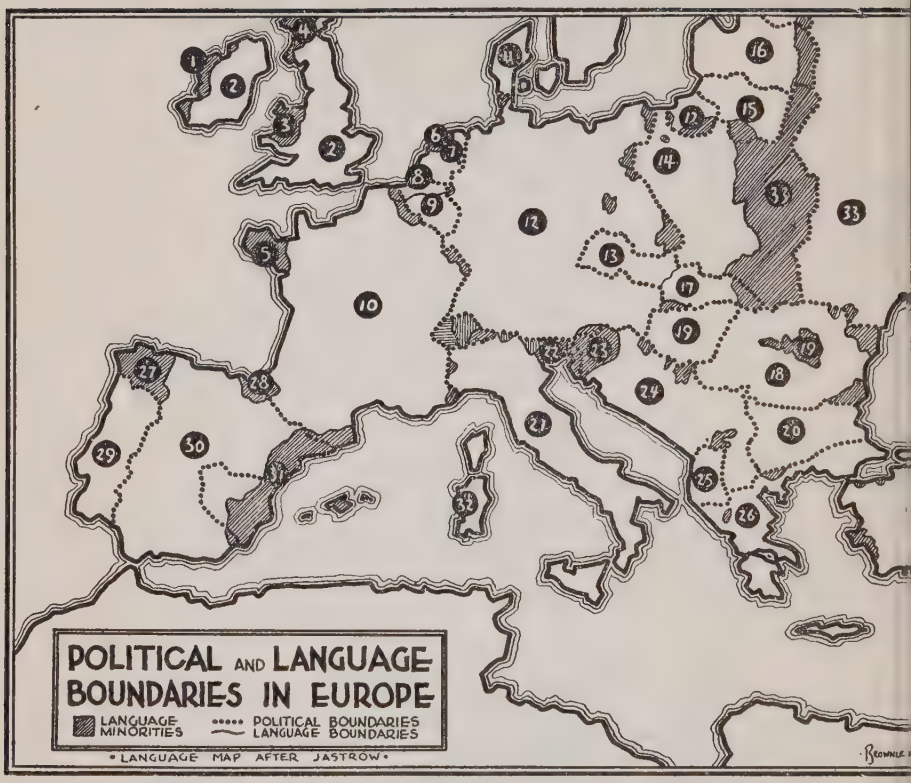
The Borders
of
Europe 1200 A.D.


The Borders
of
Europe 1815 A.D.

Bismarck's Germany and *Central Europe:* 1914

Europe after Versailles

Europe: June, 1939



1. Irish
2. English
3. Welsh
4. Gaelic
5. Breton
6. Frisian
7. Dutch
8. Flemish
9. Walloon
10. French
11. Danish
12. German
13. Czecho-Moravian
14. Polish
15. Lithuanian
16. Lettish
17. Slovakian
18. Roumanian
19. Magyar
20. Bulgarian
21. Italian
22. Friulian
23. Slovenian
24. Serbo-Croatian
25. Albanian
26. Greek
27. Gallegan
28. Basque
29. Portuguese
30. Spanish
31. Catalan
32. Sardinian
33. Russian
34. Turkish

More on This Topic

ANGELL, SIR NORMAN, "How Can You Help To Make a Better Peace Next Time?" *Vital Speeches*, May 1, 1943.

BASCH, ANTONIN, "Reconstruction in Central-Eastern Europe," *Free World*, April, 1943.

BECKER, CARL, "How New Will the Better World Be?" *Yale Review*, spring, 1943.

EMERSON, SIR HERBERT, "Postwar Problems of Refugees," *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1943.

LEE, DWIGHT, *Ten Years: The World on Its Way to War: 1930–40.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942.

ROBINSON, JACOB, "Minorities in a Free World," *Free World*, May, 1943.

SCHUMAN, FREDERICK L., *International Politics.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941.

STASSEN, HAROLD E., "We Need a World Government," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 22, 1943.

STEENBERGHE, M. P. L., "The Future of Western Europe," *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1943.

WRIGHT, QUINCY, *A Study of War.* 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

What Do *You* Think?

1. Do you agree that the conditions of the armistice should be prepared before the end of the war? What conditions should this include? Do you favor the suggestion that the world peace conference be held several years after the armistice?

2. President Beneš said that "the days of Soviet Russia's isolation are over." Discuss this statement in the light of Russia's policy in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war and since the war began. What significance do you attach to the recent announcement of the dissolution of the Third International?

3. In all the Allied nations at the present time and in many of the occupied countries there are thousands of refugees who have been driven from their homelands. How should these people be dealt with after the war? Is this one of the problems that will need to be part of the armistice conditions if any immediate security is to be gained?

4. In view of the opinions that you hear expressed, do you believe that the United States will continue to play her part in securing peace for the world as she is in winning the war, as President Beneš says the Europeans hope we will do? What is the historical background of isolation in this country? How have conditions changed, or how should they change, this policy?

5. "The peace is one and indivisible." Discuss the implications of this statement.

6. Discuss President Beneš' six-point program for reconstructing Germany after the war. Would you add any others? Do you agree that the German people are responsible for Hitler and Himmler?

The People Say . . . .

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Strategy of Food," broadcast May 23, 1943.*

*

Feeding America

. . . . Permit me to say that I am shocked by the omission from the discussion of plans for feeding the American public. It is appalling that the school lunches heretofore provided by the government are likely to be taken away from millions of hungry children and the food given to foreign lands. Such a country has no future, and I regard the discussion of last Sunday's as being one-sided and unsatisfactory. —*A listener from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*

*

United States Should Assume Responsibility

. . . . I believe that the United States should participate with other nations in setting up and supporting an international organization to raise world standards of nutrition. I believe that the United States should assume the responsibility of supplying food to other nations after this war, even if it means our not having so much. . . . . —*A listener from Sparks, Oklahoma.*

*

Can Have Enough Food

. . . . Proper crop control and bigger plans will permit the United States to have enough food for its own needs as well as for other peoples too. It is necessary of course to convince ourselves that this is the longer range of view and of most economic advantage over the shorter view of effects of oversupply upon our domestic markets. The amount of food available for other peoples need be not much more than the amount at present being sent to other peoples during the war. . . . .—*A listener from Cleveland Heights, Ohio.*

*

Foolhardy

. . . . Another question about current food strategy is whether we should send goods to conquered nations. It seems foolhardy to give food to the Greeks, for instance, when they are still in the power of the Nazis. When and if an invasion of Europe comes, then we can bring food to the people of the lands from which we drive the Nazis. But inasmuch as it has been proved throughout the centuries that wars can be won or lost through food—the lack of it as well as the abundance of it—why should we send our food—food that is so vitally needed for our own Army and Navy—to places where the Nazis have easy access to it? . . . . —*A listener from Park Ridge, Illinois.*

Must Pass On Our Techniques

. . . . The United States should participate with other nations in setting up and supporting an international organization to raise world standards of food. We are leaders in the development of industrial techniques that are providing and will provide the world's highest standard of livelihood. This technique must be passed on to those who are not so far advanced as we. That is, it must be, if we are to achieve a brotherhood of man and prevent the repetition of nonsensical wars. Another thing that the United States could accomplish through such cooperative effort would be the development of the resources of the backward countries. This would point the way to the time when they should be able to feed themselves. Self-sufficiency, it seems to me, could be attained by most of the peoples of the world if they were given the right leadership in the exploitation of their own natural resources. . . . . —*A listener from St. Paul, Minnesota.*

At Least Subsistence Standard

. . . . I doubt if the United States will be able to supply to other peoples much more food than it is at the present time; however, I believe that our farmers are capable and willing to produce considerably more food than now if given ample machinery, competent labor, and fewer Washington-imposed handicaps. With the cooperation of other surplus-producing countries, an ample supply should be forthcoming to provide at least a subsistence, or slightly better, standard. . . . . —*A listener from Wichita, Kansas.*

*

Neglect in Homes

. . . . My first interests are centered in adequately supplying our fighting forces in order that our armies may have the strength needed to win this war. The ROUND TABLE should soundly box the ears of the delinquent American mother for neglecting to use in her home the proper diet education so freely set forth in magazines and newspapers. . . . . —*A listener from Kansas City, Missouri.*

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210. *Women, Work, and the War*
211. *The American Temper*
214. *War Profits*
218. *Radio in Wartime*
220. *Limiting Wartime Incomes*
221. *Education for Freedom*
223. *China*
224. *The Near East*
226. *Crisis in Shipping*
227. *Must We Hate Our Enemies?*
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230. *Political Reconstruction of the Post-war World*
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259. *Bigger and Better Taxes?*
260. *Is This a Conservative War?*
261. *Education for Freedom*
262. *Minorities*
263. *The Senate and Foreign Policy*
264. *Thomas Jefferson and the Meaning of Democracy*
265. *What about the Trade Agreements?*
266. *Morals in Wartime*
267. *The Future of Empire*
268. *Is the Good Neighbor Policy Here To Stay?*
269. *Are We Holding the Line?*
270. *The Strategy of Food.* May 23

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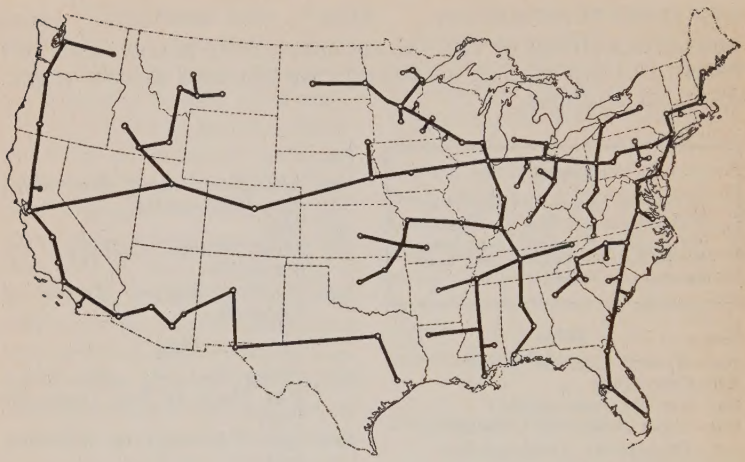

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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismark, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590

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Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770			

BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930

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